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TRANSLATIONS ON VIETNAM

No. 1884

COMMENTS ON VWP DRAFT POLITICAL  
REPORT TO FOURTH VWP CONGRESS

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### COMMENTS ON VWP DRAFT POLITICAL REPORT TO FOURTH VWP CONGRESS

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## PARTY ACTIVITIES AND GOVERNMENT

### UNDERSTANDING THE VWP DRAFT POLITICAL REPORT TO FOURTH VWP CONGRESS

#### New Revolutionary Stage

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 13 Nov 76 OW

[First in series of NHAN DAN articles: "Seek To Understand the VWP Central Committee's Draft Political Report to the Fourth Party Congress" under the subtitle "New Stage of the Revolution"]

[Text] The division of historic periods or revolutionary stages does not depend on our subjective will, but is based on the specific historic conditions that determine the substantial difference between one period and another or between one stage and another.

As pointed out in the party Central Committee's draft political report to the coming Fourth Party Congress, with complete victory in the anti-U.S. national salvation resistance, the Vietnamese revolution has moved into a new stage. The shift to a new stage of the revolution implies, first of all, a change of strategic tasks in the revolution. In the previous stage, our country was temporarily partitioned into two zones and had to simultaneously carry out two strategic tasks: To conduct the socialist revolution in the North and complete the people's democratic national revolution in the South. In the new stage, our entire independent and reunified country is conducting the socialist revolution--the sole strategic task.

Along with the change of strategic tasks, the central slogan has changed, too. The previous slogan "All for the forefront, all for victory" has been replaced with the current slogan "Everything for production, everything for socialist construction, everything for building a prosperous and powerful homeland and for the people's happiness." In other words, all of our party members and people have shifted from the stage of fighting against aggression and for national salvation as the primary task to the new stage in which the main task is to organize and manage the independent and reunified country and advance to socialism. In the new stage, our country's revolution bears the following three great characteristics:

1. Our country still remains in the process of directly advancing from a general economy of small-scale production to a large-scale socialist production while bypassing the capitalist development stage.

2. Our country is advancing to socialism as a peaceful, independent and unified country with the revolutionary spirit of a nation that achieved a great victory, with the combined strength of proletarian dictatorship, with abundant labor forces and natural resources, and with the Northern part where the initial bases of socialism were set up. This means that our country has very favorable internal conditions for building socialism. However, we are facing numerous difficulties arising from the serious consequences of 30 years of war.

3. Our country is conducting the socialist revolution at a time when the world's socialist forces are stronger than ever before, the world revolution is in an offensive position and imperialism is being driven deeply into a state of general crisis and disintegration.

As pointed out by the draft political report, the aforesaid characteristics determine the content and steps of development for the revolution and require that our country's socialist revolution bear the following qualities: self-awareness, high effectiveness and intense creativeness. These three qualities constitute an important realistic basis on which the party sets forth the guidelines and measures for socialist construction. If we fail to grasp the three characteristics, especially the need to advance from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, we will be unable to correctly understand the guidelines and measures for building socialism in our country.

Marxism-Leninism founded the laws of socialist construction, but none of the Canonists specifically dealt with the process of moving from small-scale production to socialism. Karl Marx dealt with socialism by using countries that had great industrial production. Lenin spoke of the capability of progressing without going through the capitalist stage and by relying on the assistance of victorious socialist countries.

We are conducting the proletarian revolution in a country that has no large-scale capitalist production. We do not have ample experience in our advancement from small-scale production to socialism. Although the North has gone through nearly 20 years of socialist construction, it has actually only gained experience in 7 of those years, including 3 years of socialist transformation (1958-1960) and 4 years of socialist construction (1960-1964), because the greater amount of time was spent on war and economic restoration. However, our party has, on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and of the realities of our country's revolution, found the laws governing the advance from small-scale production to socialism.

In the present era, a country engaged in building socialism can, of course, enjoy the assistance of pioneer socialist countries. But, so far and during a longer period of time, socialism has remained and will remain in a stage of construction in each country and every socialist stage should rely on its own strength. A country's advance to socialism is primarily decided by the internal laws of its economy. This country should depend on its own strength to move to socialism.

We can assert that our country can advance directly from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production, because this large-scale socialist production has already existed in the world and because we can apply the following two laws--the law of moving from small-scale production to large-scale capitalist production and the law of advancing from large-scale capitalist production to large-scale socialist production--as well as the economic law of socialism to find the law of moving from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production for our country. This can be done and our party has actually done it. Man can understand and grasp these aforesaid two processes like the appearance, existence and development of things. Once we have grasped the laws we can, if the historical conditions permit, apply them to gain new experience.

#### Collective Mastership

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 14 Nov 76 OW

[Second in series of NHAN DAN articles: "Seek To Understand the VWP Central Committee's Draft Political Report to the Fourth Party Congress" under the subtitle "Proletarian Dictatorship and the Working People's Right to Collective Mastership"]

[Text] Now, let us study collective mastership. The essence of proletarian dictatorship is to build the working people's socialist collective mastership system. We believe that socialist collective mastership is an historical category [phamj truf lichj swr] that began when the working class seized power and carried out the tasks of proletarian dictatorship. The theoretical basis of this point is the law of the negation of a negation [quy luaatj phur dinhj cuar dinhj] in human society, which has moved from the original communist collective to the individualist system and then returned to a higher form of socialist collective, the system of the publicly owned means of production, which fulfills the masses' role in history and so forth.

Socialist collective mastership includes many aspects: mastery in the political, economic, cultural and social fields; mastery of society; mastery over nature; mastery of oneself; mastery on the nationwide scale; mastery in each locality, installation and family. Combining collective mastership with each individual's genuine freedom is genuine collective mastership in the fullest form, a historic leap forward from the field of inevitability to the field of freedom. Collective mastership does not



merely consist of consciousness, attitudes, ways of behaving and legal specifications. It is a general body of social relations. It is manifested through social relations and guaranteed by these relations. When these social relations are systematic, collective mastership becomes a system. Building a collective mastership system is building a perfected system of social relations in order to achieve mastership in every aspect. It is a process of continuous progress from the lowest to the highest level, from imperfection to perfection.

Collective mastership in the political field is shown in the collective mastership of the working people with the worker-peasant alliance serving as the core and in the socialist state placed under the party leadership. Therefore, first of all, it is necessary to build from the highest to the lowest level a correct system of relations between the party, the state and the masses and correctly implement the party leadership over the state. All activities of the state should be carried out under the party leadership. Although the party exerts leadership over the state, it does not supersede the state. It is necessary to build a new-type state that will be reorganized by the working people themselves in a concentrated and broad manner so that they will be able to implement their right to collective mastership. The state must be fully qualified and capable of managing and organizing all activities of social life.

Through the activities of the state, under the party leadership, it is necessary to highly develop the working people's positive role and initiative, whip up successive revolutionary movements, combine scientific and revolutionary characteristics, create a consolidated strength and constantly advance our people's revolutionary undertaking. Collective mastership also requires the guarantee of the citizen's rights and individual freedoms and, at the same time, requires from every citizen and individual the fulfillment of his duties toward the collective, the state and society. Building socialism goes along with protecting socialism and the socialist fatherland.

Collective mastership in the economic field includes mastery over the means of production, mastery of the work force and collective mastery in organizing production management and in distribution. In order to achieve collective mastership over the means of production, we should determine a publicly owned system concerning the social means of production by appropriate measures and ways.

Regarding labor, our people exerted and are exerting collective mastership. Examples in Quynh Luu District and in a number of other localities show that in addition to implementing the principle of assigning work according to the work force, we are distributing, organizing and utilizing the work force on a large scale to develop our economy and culture and to turn our whole country into a huge worksite and every province and district into worksites for building socialism.

To achieve collective mastership in production management, it is necessary to rationally utilize the means of production and all production factors according to a correct plan, that is, we should build a correct managerial and planning system. Mastery over distribution requires, on the one hand, application of the principle of assigning work according to the work force and, on the other hand, according to the situation of production development, a gradual increase in social welfare facilities and the satisfaction of increasingly higher material and cultural requirements of the entire society according to plan and in a just, rational, organized and increasingly better manner.

Achieving collective mastership in the cultural field means creating for everyone a rich spiritual and cultural life consistent with the laws of society, man and nature and the laws of reason and sentiments and with the highest objective of socialism--meeting in an increasingly better manner the material and cultural requirements of the entire society. It also means turning all cultural values into the people's property and making the people direct creators of all cultural values. To this end, it is necessary to build a culture with a socialist essence, national colors and people's characteristics. In this society of high culture, human relations manifest a noble *raison d'etre*--one for everyone and everyone for one.

The collective mastership system also includes the correct development of relations between the collective and the individual. Marxism-Leninism said: The individual's liberation is possible only through the liberation of society. The individual's free development is the condition for everyone's free development. Therefore, we should harmoniously coordinate the full right of mastership in the social community with individual freedoms in order to achieve uniformity in collective mastership and individual freedoms. Thus, the demand for everyone to fulfill his obligation to society, the state and the collective goes along with the expansion, respect for and guarantee of the workers' freedoms and with the improvement and fostering of individual aptitudes and creates conditions for everyone to conduct research and to develop his creativity in production and scientific, cultural and artistic activities.

In short, socialist collective mastership is a very great motive of our society and, at the same time, a constructive objective of socialism. It spurs the three revolutions--the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution with the scientific and technical revolution playing the main role and, at the same time, it develops to a higher level through the progress of these three revolutions.

Although proletarian dictatorship and the working people's right to collective mastership are not the same, they cannot be separated from each other during the entire period of transition to communism. Proletarian dictatorship must be achieved first and is the guarantee for the working

people's right to collective mastership. It creates conditions for implementing the right to collective mastership. Its essence is to develop and insure the right to collective mastership. Proletarian dictatorship and the right to collective mastership are also closely linked to the three revolutions and insure their successes. Therefore, the draft political report points out: In order to advance the revolutionary undertaking to complete victory, the primary decisive condition is to establish and constantly strengthen proletarian dictatorship and to determine and constantly develop the working people's right to be masters.

### Three Revolutions

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 15 Nov 76 OW

[Third in series of NHAN DAN articles: "Seek To Understand the VWP Central Committee's Draft Political Report to the Fourth Party Congress" under the subtitle "Simultaneously Carry Out the Three Revolutions"]

[Text] In human history and in any society--slavish, feudal, capitalist or socialist--there must be a social system, an economy and a type of man corresponding to this society. This is a general rule.

Our country's socialist revolution is aimed at gradually building the socialist collective mastership system, large-scale socialist production and new socialist men. With experiences gained over the years, our party has formed a generalized theory, on the path to follow in order to achieve this objective: Use the established proletarian dictatorship as a basis and develop the working people's right to collective mastership and simultaneously carry out the three revolutions--the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution with the scientific and technical revolution playing the key role (part two of the VWP Central Committee's draft political report to the Fourth Party Congress).

On the basis of specific conditions in our country, our party has clearly determined the contents and position of each revolution and the relationship among these three revolutions.

1. The revolution in production relations includes the following: End the capitalist economic component [thanhf phaanf] with appropriate measures and steps; build and strive to develop the state-run economic component to enable it to constantly grow and strengthen and play the leading role in the national economy; transform the small-scale production of individual peasants into large-scale socialist agricultural production; transform the handicraftsmen's production into socialist collective production; build, on a nationwide scale, large-scale socialist production on the basis of the all-people and collective ownership system of the means of production; and eliminate the exploitation and the individual ownership of the means of production.

As soon as the working people's right to collective mastership over the means of production has been determined, it is necessary to implement an efficient management system according to socialist principles; to correctly apply the economic laws related to the process of advancing from small-scale to large-scale socialist production and to manage the work force, equipment, machinery, material supplies and financial means in the most rational manner in order to achieve the highest labor productivity and to expand production in the most rapid manner. Finally, it is necessary to implement a correct distribution system that manifests the working people's right to collective mastership and is carried out according to socialist principles; to wholeheartedly care for, support and gradually improve the people's material and cultural lives; and to stimulate them to positively engage in labor activities while manifesting the superiority of socialism.

2. The scientific and technical revolution consists of the following: Transform handicraft labor into mechanized labor which will gradually be automated; step up the building of material and technical bases of socialism; positively apply the achievements of modern science and technology in all fields of production and in life; create advanced industrial methods, achieve proficiency in the performance of work, a new work behavior and a scientific production organization and management in the direction of large-scale production. It is necessary to redistribute the work force and utilize in an increasingly rational manner our country's work force and national resources to achieve an increasingly higher labor productivity. To this end, it is necessary to develop a system of key heavy industrial branches, to equip them with new machines and tools and to provide the material supplies necessary for advancing agriculture to large-scale production and for developing and modernizing the other economic sectors. It is necessary to train and use a body of skilled workers, peasants with satisfactory technical standards and scientific and technical manager cadres. This is the true nature of socialist industrialization which creates increasingly better new socialist production forces. A large industry with modern science and technology as the basis, and large-scale socialist production.

On the basis of the actual situation in Vietnam, our party says that the scientific and technical revolution plays the key role.

A characteristic of the process of advancing from small-scale to large-scale socialist production is that production relations and production forces are closely linked together and united. Building a new factory is building a new production force. At the same time, this also creates a new production relationship and consolidates and expands the all-people ownership system. Therefore, the scientific and technical revolution, which produces changes in the relations between man and nature, also produces changes in the relations among human beings. The scientific and technical revolution creates both a new production force and new production relations in production.

3. The ideological and cultural revolution includes the following: Penetratingly instill the Marxist-Leninist world conception and the communist philosophy of life into the political and spiritual life in our society and all fields of the superstructure so they can become the faith, virtues, social psychology and every man's way of living, thinking and acting; turn cultural values created by man into the people's property and, at the same time, make the people direct creators of all cultural values; and struggle to completely wipe out all the remaining influence of the feudal, bourgeois and neocolonialist culture, the inclination to enjoy things but not wanting to work, individualism, the bourgeois concept of freedom, the depraved way of life, social evils, superstitious practices, the attitude of scorning labor tasks and the desire to live a leisurely and selfish life.

Carrying out the ideological and cultural revolution is causing a basic change in the political, cultural and spiritual life of society and of each man, and is aimed mainly at creating working people with collective mastership rights, new-type socialist men.

The three aforementioned revolutions have a close relationship, are intertwined, exert mutual influence upon one another, and must be simultaneously carried out--part two of the draft political report.

Any of the three revolutions uses the other two as the premise and condition and, vice versa, serves as the premise and condition for them. The great, marvelous strength of the revolutionary movement, which allows us to advance directly from small-scale to large-scale socialist production, actually derives from the close coordination of these three revolutions that are carried out simultaneously. None of these revolutions can be slighted, nor can they be carried out separately. The new socialist regime, the new socialist economy, or the new socialist man, as a whole or in parts, can only be created through the combined results of these three revolutions.

#### Large-Scale Socialist Production

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 16 Nov 76 OW

[Fourth in series of NHAN DAN articles: "Seek To Understand the VWP Central Committee's Draft Political Report" under the subtitle "Large-Scale Socialist Production"]

[Text] The process of simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions is a process of building in our country the system of socialist collective mastership, large-scale socialist production, new culture and new socialist men. Large-scale production means the negation of small-scale production with its diversified work, manual labor, low labor output and separation between industry and agriculture. Large-scale socialist production is basically different from large-scale capitalist production and is manifested in the following ways:

It is a socialist production system built on the basis of the socialist ownership system--with regard to materials of production that are owned by collectives--and having big industry as its base.

It is a production system that encompasses many branches, sectors and different economic units operating along the line of specialization and cooperativization. It is a system in which all the components develop in a balanced and smooth manner, making up a unified structure of national economy under the centralized and unified leadership of the proletarian dictatorial state.

It is a production system in which production, circulation and distribution are all in the common system of social division of labor and all function in the interest of national economy. In all economic activities, the labor of each individual is no longer private labor that is separate from and opposed to social labor. Instead it is direct social labor and constitutes part of the labor in the common, unified plan of the entire society for developing the economy and culture, building the country and meeting the common requirements of society. On this basis, it will satisfy the requirements of each individual, each family and each small community.

Large-scale socialist production is the economic base of the system of socialist collective mastership. The summary of the political report points out: The building and development of large-scale socialist production must aim at meeting the ever increasing material and cultural needs of the entire society on the basis of the system of collective mastership by constantly developing production with increasingly more modern techniques.

Thus, to build and develop large-scale socialist production means to realize the fundamental law or purpose of socialism. In the building of large-scale socialist production our party stresses the need to create a modern industrial-agricultural economic structure, considering it to be of decisive significance. To speak of structure means to speak of combining components into a unified whole. Opposing the views of separating agriculture from industry, our party considers them to be parts of a unified structure.

In the history of development of mankind, until the end of the feudal system, agriculture and industry used to be combined. Because of the needs of life, a family cultivated the land, raised animals, weaved its own cloth and did blacksmith work. In other words it performed work in agriculture as well as in industry and handicrafts. Capitalism separated agriculture from industry. It concentrated in developing industry by bankrupting agriculture, thus creating conflict between industry and agriculture.

Our path toward large-scale production is entirely different from that traversed by capitalism. Division of labor is a necessity. The more

society develops, the deeper the division of labor becomes. However, in this division the relationship among the branches is an organic relationship that develops according to laws. In order to rapidly build socialism, we combine agriculture and industry into a whole right from the beginning, unifying them in a common economic structure, causing them to develop in a coordinated manner and to push each other ahead toward large-scale socialist production.

To speak of "structure" means to speak of combined strength. Man has strength because the organs in his body combine with one another into a unified structure instead of according to a haphazard relationship. A strong economy must be an economy in which all the branches combine closely with one another and function within a unified structure. If one separates the branches from one another or develops them separately, no matter how much effort he may make, there will be delays either in the economy in general or in one component or another. By combining the components into a unified whole, we will be able to create an amalgamated strength.

A modern agricultural-industrial economic structure is a nationwide, unified structure encompassing the central economy and regional economies. Such a structure correctly combines economy with national defense and successfully combines division of labor and a balance at home with efforts to develop economic relations with fraternal socialist countries and other countries.

In our large-scale production, the first unit to combine agriculture with industry into a unified structure is the district. A number of districts, particularly Quynh Luu District in Nghe Tinh Province, have started moving along this direction. The working people's right to collective mastership has been developed in Quynh Luu on a district-wide scale in order to develop agriculture and industry and build a system of schools and hospitals from village to district levels. There are 500 districts in our country. If all the districts are built along the line of closely combining industry with agriculture and closely combining political mastership with economic and cultural mastership, our country may shorten the time it takes to advance to socialism.

#### The New Person

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 19 Nov 76 OW

[Fifth in series of NHAN DAN articles: "Seek To Understand the VWP Central Committee's Draft Political Report" under the subtitle "Building the New Person"]

[Text] The process of simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions--the revolution in production relations, the scientific and technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution--is a process of

gradually building the system of socialist collective mastership, large-scale socialist production and new socialist men.

Building new men is the task and content of the ideological and cultural revolution. New men can only make their appearance in the process of building a new regime and new economy through practical activities and in the revolutionary mass movement. They are the product of new social relationships and the combined result of the three revolutions. They are truly free men. The society will create all conditions for them to develop their intelligence, ability and strength and to make the greatest contributions to the revolutionary cause.

As pointed out by the party Central Committee's draft political report to the Fourth Party Congress, this new, socialist type of man is the embodiment and development of what is best and most noble in the Vietnamese personality and character, forged through 4,000 years of history. However, this new Vietnamese man's most outstanding feature must be love for labor, the sense of collective mastery, patriotism and love for socialism and proletarian internationalism.

In the socialist revolution and socialist construction, labor is the gauge of a man's political quality. A new man is an all-round developed laboring man regarding the political, cultural, scientific and technical spheres. He is an able-bodied man, leads a healthy life and works in a disciplined and methodical manner and with high productivity. He is endowed not only with a revolutionary spirit but also with some knowledge of science and the laws of society, nature and men. He is capable of mastering society, nature and himself. He is a man with sound ideology and sentiments who displays the Vietnamese nation's virtues, such as industry, intelligence and creativity, who is imbued with a revolutionary philosophy of life, who remains boundlessly loyal to the socialist and communist cause and who follows this line: One for all and all for one. He must be deeply attached to the working people, knows how to unite with others and assist others in labor and construction and in defending the fatherland and he must be determined to maintain a happy family and fulfill his responsibilities toward his children and set a good example in every aspect.

Upholding the spirit of proletarian internationalism, the Vietnamese socialist new man is firmly confident in the victory of socialism throughout the world and stands ready to fulfill all international obligations. Such a new man plays a decisive role in the successful building of the system of socialist collective mastership and large-scale socialist production.

To build the new-type socialist man is protracted painstaking work. As pointed out by the draft political report, it is necessary to build the new-type man right from the day he first sees the light and in all age groups. It is necessary to build the new-type man among those who are born in the new regime and also among those left over by the old regime.



Our party advocates stepping up cultural and social work in order to build the system of collective mastership regarding the working people's culture and build new socialist people. To insure the exercise of collective mastership regarding culture, we must build a culture with a socialist content and a national and popular character and build a plentiful spiritual life, a scientific and civilized pattern of life and a society with a high culture.

General education is the cultural groundwork of a country. We must carry out widespread educational reform throughout the country, there must be a firmer grasp of the principle of linking the school with society and combining education with productive labor. We must see to it that all children and young men and women acquire adequate knowledge and capability of becoming collective masters in labor. In the unified educational system throughout the country, all educational levels from kindergarten to college and all types of schools and learning methods must be closely linked together in order to form socialist new people, better meet the educational needs of the working people and satisfy the increasing multifarious requirements of the socialist revolution.

Apart from the cultural and social tasks, the draft political report devotes adequate attention to treating the literary and artistic question. Along with endeavoring to create artistic works and literary masterpieces with a high level of symbolism about revolutionary heroism in fighting and productive labor, it is necessary to widely and deeply develop the mass literary and artistic movement to serve as a basis for the new literature and art. We must pay attention to properly organizing wholesome entertainment and recreation activities for the working masses as well as children and youths. The socialist cultural, literary and artistic activities can have a strong and profound impact on the building of a moral life and fostering of revolutionary sentiments of the people. They can help eradicate backward customs and habits and sweep away the influence of neo-colonialist culture in the southern provinces, thus effectively contributing to building socialist new men.

Complying with President Ho's teaching, "To build socialism, first of all there must be socialist people," let all our party and people promote cultural and social work with a view to building a new culture and new people, thus opening a glorious era of cultural development in our nation's history and forming and fostering Vietnamese socialist men who are worthy of the grandeur of the socialist Vietnamese country.

## Economic Line

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 23 Nov 76 OW

[Sixth in series of NHAN DAN articles: "Seek To Understand the VWP Central Committee's Draft Political Report" under the subtitle "Economic Line"]

[Text] To build a new economy is to take our country's economy from small production to large-scale socialist production. To this end, it is indispensable to create a modern industrial-agricultural economic structure. The summary of the draft political report clearly pointed out that the basic road to create this structure is "To give priority to a rational development of heavy industry on the basis of efforts to develop agriculture and light industry, to closely combine agriculture and industry into a single entity and to make them develop together in close interrelation and to stimulate each other to advance toward large-scale socialist production."

In the building of socialism, every country must develop both industry and agriculture. But in what relationship shall we place industry and agriculture? In what structure, by which measures and with which concrete steps shall we build them up? These problems deal with line and must be solved according to the characteristics and conditions of each country. It is just because the solving of these problems varies that the economic line of this country differs from that of the other. Also, for this reason, the correctness or incorrectness of a line would be considered on whether or not this line is consistent with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and appropriate to the concrete situation in a country and whether or not these problems can be solved in order to develop strongly.

To give priority to heavy industry is a question having the character of a law. First of all, for such an industrially underdeveloped country, heavy industry is the key factor for taking small production to large-scale production. It creates new material and technical bases with good equipment, machines and tools and provides materials, technology and productivity for all national economic branches. With the great strength provided by heavy industry, individuals will be gradually liberated from handicraft work and advance toward labor with techniques and high productivity, and production which is mostly based on handicraft will be transformed into a mechanized, electrified and automated production. To industrialize socialism, priority must be given to the development of heavy industry. However, heavy industry can be developed strongly only when agriculture and light industry have become strong and firm bases for it. If we develop heavy industry without immediately stepping up agriculture and light industry, we will not only practically be able to develop it, but will further worsen the balance of the economy.

The relations between heavy industry on one side and agriculture and light industry on the other in our country must be established in accordance with

the features of our country which advances from small production to large-scale socialist production without going through a period of capitalist development and which has abundant natural resources and work force but still suffers from heavy consequences of many years of war. Heavy industry creates the material and technical basis to develop agriculture and light industry. On the other hand agriculture and light industry constitutes economic areas which help directly produce food, foodstuffs and consumer goods to serve the people's life, and at the same time achieve the initial capital accumulation and markets for heavy industry.

Our country has vast forest lands full of mineral and forestry resources and fertile plains with a relatively large cultivated acreage. It has large sea areas, many long rivers and many ponds with invaluable sources of aquatic products, not counting the rich resources underground and under the continental shelf. The favors bestowed on us by nature as well as our abundant labor force allow us to vigorously develop both industry and agriculture. These favors and labor force also make the realistic capability outstanding: If we know how to concentrate our forces on agricultural production, we can in a short period of time exploit the existing and numerous advantages to turn out large quantities of products in all four respects--cultivation, stock-breeding, fishery and forestry.

By doing so we can within a short period of time, meet the needs for food and foodstuffs, supply adequate raw materials for food and foodstuffs, supply adequate materials for industry and create many sources of goods for export with a view to making agriculture really become, right at the initial stage, the basis of industrial development. If we know how to make full use of all our possibilities to develop light industry, food industry including small industry and handicraft, we will be able to rapidly turn out a great variety of consumer goods to meet the requirements of home consumption and reserve a sizable part for export.

Proceeding from the aforementioned situation, our economic line is "to step by step realize socialist industrialization, take Vietnam's economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production and give priority to a rational development of heavy industry on the basis of efforts to develop agriculture and light industry." This correct line will allow us to successfully develop the strong positions and promptly and fully realize the change of our country's economy. The importance of the realization is that while firmly grasping industrialization, which is the central task in the transitional period, we must in the very beginning strive to develop agriculture and light industry and promptly create initial developmental leaps in agriculture and light industry and that each developmental step of heavy industry must serve the development of agriculture and light industry. Because, if there is no influence of heavy industry, we cannot step up agriculture and light industry. Moreover, in serving agriculture and light industry, heavy industry will also create favorable conditions for its own prior development.

In its concrete steps forward, the party's economic line has been turned into the directions and tasks of the current 1976-1980 Five-Year Plan, as clearly stipulated in the summary of the draft of the political report:

"We must highly concentrate the forces of the whole country in order to achieve a leap forward in agriculture, including both cultivation and stock-breeding, step up fishery, successfully effectuate forestry, strive to develop light industry and the food industry, including small industry and handicrafts, so as to meet the urgent needs of the people's life, basically and steadily solving the question of food and foodstuffs of the whole country and increasing the sources of export. At the same time, we must transform and expand the existing establishments and make great efforts to build as soon as possible a number of new heavy industry establishments, especially of the engineering industry."

In firmly grasping and carrying out the party's economic line, we will solve all of the relations between industry and agriculture, between the central economy and local economy, between economy and national defense, between accumulation and consumption and between expanded reproduction and improvement of people's living conditions. In this way, we will actively create a modern industrial-agricultural structure, will make our country's economy become a large-scale socialist production and will make it develop in a balanced and harmonious manner.

#### Socialist Industrialization

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1300 GMT 24 Nov 76 BK

[Seventh in series of NHAN DAN articles: "Seek To Understand the VWP Central Committee's Draft Political Report to the Fourth Party Congress" under the subtitle "Socialist Industrialization"]

[Text] The ultimate socialist structure is a large-scale socialist production system whose backbone is major socialist industry, a thing that we do not have yet. This is why the draft political report said: Accelerating socialist industrialization is a key task for the entire transitional period toward socialism.

Socialist industrialization means developing major industry, especially heavy industry with the aim of guaranteeing a thorough national economic reform and building a country with modern industry and agriculture, advanced culture and science and strong and stable national defense. Objectively, socialist industrialization is a must for building the material and technical bases of socialism and for constantly increasing the labor output of society. This is a law on the building of socialism in those countries where the proletarian revolution has been effected and where there is an absence of major industry.

As for our country, socialist industrialization is much more important as we are proceeding from small production to large-scale socialist production. As Lenin put it, "There is no other way to build socialism than through major industry." He also said: The only feasible economic basis for socialism is major heavy industry and whoever ignores this fact is not a communist. This clear-cut statement has pointed to the extremely important role of heavy industry in socialist economy.

In his work entitled "Under the Glorious Banner of the Party," Comrade Le Duan said: "We consider heavy industry important because it is a way to elevate small production to large-scale production and because it provides new equipment for workers, thus increasing the strength of mankind against nature, freeing workers from backward manual labor and enabling them to produce more in building a new society and new economy."

As heavy industry is playing such a decisive role at present in our country, our party regards socialist industrialization, especially the building of a modern heavy industrial system, as a key task for the entire transitional period toward socialism. It should be noted that, as dictated by the situation in our country, our path toward socialist industrialization will have its own characteristics. Giving priority to the development of heavy industry is an objective economic law of the expanded renewal of production process. This priority is given in a rational manner and based on the development of agriculture and light industry. This is because agriculture and light industry are the two economic domains capable of directly creating the necessary conditions for building heavy industry. These conditions include labor strength, consumer goods, initially accumulated capital and the market.

Thus, giving priority to rationally developing heavy industry means guaranteeing the rapid development of heavy industry and the immediate concentration of heavy industry on vigorously boosting agriculture and light industry. We should not separate the task of achieving socialist industrialization with that of developing a modern structure for industrial and agricultural economy. This is to link industry with agriculture into an integral whole so that they will be able to steadily proceed toward large-scale socialist production with every developmental step made by one closely linked with that of the other and serving as an encouragement and support for the other.

In order to build the material and technical bases for socialism and to equip the various national economic sectors, especially those involving agriculture, fishery, forestry, light industry and food industry, with good-quality machinery and tools in the years ahead while rearranging, technically improving and developing all available heavy industrial facilities. It is a decisive and significant task to build a system of key industries; to build a strong and large-scale manufactured mechanical and electronic products sector capable of supplying machinery, tools, spare parts and mechanical components to all the economic and cultural

sectors; to build the metallurgical sector in such a way that it can meet the demands of the manufactured machinery, construction, communications and transportation sectors; and to develop the fuel energy sector to cover the increasing demands of the national economy.

Apart from electricity and coal, we must accelerate exploration and exploitation of petroleum and natural gas before beginning research into other sources of energy. The chemical industry must promptly advance toward meeting the demands of agriculture in terms of fertilizer, insecticide, weed control chemicals; and of light industry in terms of artificial cotton and silk and plastics. We must intensively prepare to build oil refineries and petrochemical plants, increase the strength and material bases for the capital construction sector, promptly develop the construction materials producing sector and so forth. We must develop communications and transportation activities in a drastic, overall and uniform manner in order to satisfactorily serve the people's economic activities and their travels. In addition, we must strive so that within the next two decades we will be able to basically complete efforts to advance our economy from small production to large-scale socialist production, especially in terms of socialist industrialization.

#### National Economy

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1300 GMT 25 Nov 76 BK

[Eighth in series of NHAN DAN articles: "Seek To Understand the VWP Central Committee's Draft Political Report to the Fourth Party Congress" under the subtitle "Agricultural Production, Primary Task of the Line for Building a Socialist Economy in Our Country"]

[Text] The issue of primary importance concerning the line for building a socialist economy in our country is the establishment of a rational economic structure--a modern industrial-agricultural economic structure in which industry and agriculture are linked together into an integral whole so they will harmoniously develop together and advance to large-scale socialist production. This structure must be set up along the line of giving priority to developing heavy industry in a rational manner and on the basis of vigorously developing agriculture and light industry. Advancing from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production means to advance from a chiefly agricultural and handicraft economy to building an economy characterized by modern industry and modern agriculture.

In furtherance of the socialist economic lines in the present stage, the draft political report points out that it is necessary to concentrate the efforts of the entire country to a high degree to achieve a leap forward in agriculture, considering agricultural development as the foremost task. Right from the start, industry must create conditions for the development of agriculture and, conversely, without waiting for industry to develop,

agriculture must strongly advance along the line of large-scale socialist production right from the outset to serve as a basis for the development of industry.

To be able to serve as a basis for industrial development, agriculture must be collectivized and equipped with ever more modern technology. It is necessary to closely coordinate the consolidation of production relations with the development of production forces in the Northern provinces, and the transformation and establishment of the new production relations with the development of production forces in the Southern provinces; to simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, the revolution of production relations, the scientific and technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, with the scientific and technical revolution serving as a keystone; to fully bring into play all potentials concerning land, capital, labor and currently available as well as to-be-acquired material and technical bases; to plan and reorganize production throughout the country; to create drastic changes in crop cultivation, livestock raising, forestry, fishery and other branches; to reallocate lands along the line of concentrated intensive and specialized cultivation; to develop agriculture in a rapid and steady manner to insure sufficient grain and food and build a reserve; to supply enough raw materials for light industry and labor forces for other economic and cultural sectors; to increase the sources of exportable goods; to further improve the people's lives; and to increase the accumulation of capital in support of an expanded renewal of the production process.

The most important demand of our material life is food. At present we are still experiencing a shortage of grain. Therefore, meeting the food demand constitutes a fundamental immediate problem; the production of grain, including rice, corn, sweet potatoes, manioc and kaoliang, is the number one task of agriculture. As a result, plans have been worked out for the various localities to devote their greatest efforts to step up grain production while developing the production of food, to set up intensive cultivation areas and food belts around cities and industrial centers, to broadly promote grain production among the families, to strongly step up the cultivation of industrial plants and to expand large-scale concentrated cultivation areas. Agriculture must be developed in an all-round manner, with attention given to crop cultivation, livestock raising, fishery as well as forestry, so that it will be able to serve as a basis for industrial development.

Development of production along the line of concentrated intensive cultivation is a special characteristic of large-scale socialist production agriculture. Our country has been initially divided into seven large agricultural zones--the Mekong Delta, the Red River Delta, the Bac Bo midland and mountainous zone, the Thanh Nghe Tinh-Binh Tri Thien Zone, the coastal central Trung Bo-Southern Trung Bo Zone, the central highlands, and the eastern Nam Bo Zone. Due to local natural and social conditions, each zone has its own advantages. Therefore, we must carry

out zoning and production planning and rapidly set up large concentrated specialized cultivation areas in order to increase agricultural production output and the production of other materials with a view to achieving uniform development in the various regions and capitalizing on the advantages of each region to contribute to the development of the national economy.

The gap between our capabilities to develop cultivation and livestock raising and the actual results achieved and that between the results scored by advanced units and those scored by average units indicate that there are great possibilities for boosting intensive agricultural cultivation. Moreover, there also are great possibilities for expanding the cultivated area through crop multiplication and land reclamation. Soil is a special production material of agriculture. With favorable natural conditions, we can carry out planting all year round and reap harvests in all four seasons. But so far soil utilization has averaged only 1.4 crops per year in the northern provinces and 1.1 in the southern provinces. It is possible to multiply crops so as to expand the cultivated area to millions of hectares. We can also reclaim virgin lands to increase the planting area by a few million hectares.

It is necessary to launch a movement for water conservancy, considering it the foremost technical measure. This movement will include transformation of the soil, widespread use of new strains, an increase in the material and technical bases for agriculture and the uniform application of science and technology to production. We must pay equal attention to intensive cultivation, crop multiplication and land reclamation and must develop the advantages of the tropical agriculture to rapidly increase agricultural production output.

Agricultural labor constitutes a huge potential, but its efficiency is still low and it is mainly concentrated in small delta provinces and in rice cultivation. By combining production factors--labor and natural resources--we will be able to create a production process. Therefore, it is necessary to redistribute the labor forces among the various zones: Redeploy the rural work force along with carrying out agricultural mechanization and using more agricultural tools to increase agricultural labor productivity, especially that of rice planters; and create conditions for recruiting more labor to open new lands, develop industry, forestry, fishery, capital construction and other economic sectors. To send millions of workers in the Red River Delta to reclaim millions of hectares of arable land is at present a key measure to reorganize production and redistribute labor throughout the country, thus creating important material and technical bases for agriculture.

With the reunification of the country and the achievements of the agricultural revolution, we have the conditions to vigorously and steadily develop agriculture. The entire country will be endowed with a uniform agriculture and industry and a socialist system of ownership carried out in two



forms--ownership by the whole nation and collective ownership. We will be able to reorganize large-scale socialist production from the grass-roots level upward with each district serving as a theater of operation with the goal of building the district into an agroindustrial unit and advancing agriculture.

### Socialist Transformation and Construction

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1300 GMT 26 Nov 76 BK

[Ninth in series of NHAN DAN articles: "Seek To Understand the VWP Central Committee's Draft Political Report to the Fourth Party Congress" under the subtitle "Close Combination of Socialist Transformation and Socialist Construction"]

[Text] To build our country into a prosperous and powerful socialist country is the goal and ideal of the party and the working people throughout the country. This is a large and difficult problem requiring, first of all, a fundamental change in the national economy.

Socialist production methods are different from all other existing ones and they cannot be formed within the old society. In each country the socialist transformation of the economy requires a different transitional period which cannot be arbitrarily shortened or bypassed altogether. Our country is advancing toward socialism from small-scale production and our party has analyzed the characteristics of our country and noted that right from the start the socialist revolution in our country must be characterized by self-enlightenment and a high level of initiative and creativity. As pointed out in the draft political report, the socialist revolution in our country is a process of continuous, all-round and thoroughgoing revolutionary changes, of combining transformation and construction by eradicating old things and creating new ones. This is a course of difficult and complex class struggle, a process of simultaneously carrying out the three revolutions--the revolution of production relations, the scientific and technical revolution and the ideological and cultural revolution, with the scientific and technical revolution serving as the keystone.

Socialist transformation and socialist construction are two inseparable aspects of the socialist revolution. To carry out construction we must achieve transformation; transformation in turn helps in construction. The point of this line is to closely combine transformation with construction throughout the revolutionary process and in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields throughout the whole society as well as in individual units.

Thoroughly carrying out this line in the North, we must continue to consolidate and improve production relations. We must especially avoid neglecting the transformation of old things and the building of new ones

in distribution relations and the establishment of relations among different classes and collectives of workers in the process of stepping up production and business activities. We must maintain and consolidate the system of public ownership of the means of production and not neglect the problem of reorganizing production and improving the managerial system.

Thoroughly applying this line in the South, we must eradicate the comprador bourgeoisie; successfully transform private capitalist industry and commerce on the basis of building, strengthening and developing the state-controlled economy; transform small industry, handicraft and small trade along with reorganizing every sector of production and circulation on a nationwide scale; closely combine the socialist transformation of agriculture with the task of building large-scale socialist agriculture; carry out the task of socialist transformation on the cultural front; and eradicate the consequences of neocolonialism along with building and vigorously developing socialist culture.

The draft political report makes it clear that construction is the key and transformation is important. Construction means to build a new society, a socialist society, as far as construction is concerned, the building of material and technical bases constitutes the most fundamental task; but this must be done in accordance with the close relations between the material and technical bases and socialist production relations. Transformation means to transform the old society. The basic task is to transform the old production relations. But this must be done in accordance with the close relations between production relations and production forces.

#### Build Central-Level Economy, Develop Local Economy

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1300 GMT 27 Nov 76 BK

[Tenth in series of NHAN DAN articles: "Seek To Understand the VWP Central Committee's Draft Political Report to the Fourth Party Congress" under the subtitle "Simultaneously Building the Central-Level Economy and Developing the Local Economy"]

[Text] Development of both the central-level and local economies and the combination of these two economies within the framework of a uniform national economic structure is one of the lines of socialist economic development in our country as mentioned in the draft political report.

The advance from small-scale production to large-scale capitalist production is a process during which a scattered economy is centralized with the interpolation of various economic sectors. The commodities production economy develops on the basis of free competition during which the rich and mighty overwhelm the poor and weak, it inevitably leads to production centralization, first from small local areas to nationwide and then world-wide markets. Once production has been centralized, free competition becomes ever more acute.

On the other hand, the shift from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production is a process of simultaneous dispersion and centralization. During the advance from small-scale production--that is, from an underdeveloped economy--it is necessary to pay attention to decentralizing the economy into various levels and branches so that all localities and sectors may develop their vast potentials. Socialist economy is thus an economic system with uniform plans and regulations. Owing to the presence of socialist production relations, it is possible right at the outset to concentrate a rather large amount of capital to build large-scale economic establishments to be managed by the central level and, at the same time, to develop local economy. To broaden democracy for the purpose of economic development of any locality or unit does not mean to allow free competition, but to develop the economy according to a common trend and plan. It follows that centralization and decentralization are compatible.

The shift of our national economy from small-scale production to large-scale socialist production involves an active, manifold revolutionary transformation. We have a precious asset in a work force of more than 21 million laborers. The central level will map out guidelines and plans for using manpower nationwide, but will at the same time directly manage part of it. Once developed, the local economy may use different sources of manpower. The central level has guidelines and plans to utilize the relatively abundant natural resources of our country, but will at the same time actively exploit areas where these resources are concentrated on a large scale. Once developed, the local economy may fully use national resources. To build the central-level economy and to simultaneously develop the local economy is a sound formula aimed at fully using and combining production factors, manpower and natural resources and concentrating efforts on expanding modern large-scale production establishments which can be managed, centralized and unified only by the central level and simultaneously developing scattered production establishments according to local circumstances, thus making it possible to develop production and build material and technical bases quickly. The more developed production is, the greater the consumption needs will be, and the diversity of consumption acts as a motive force to boost production development.

Our party and state are concentrating on meeting the minimum needs of life of a population of more than 50 million. This is a heavy and urgent task. The people's consumption must constantly be considered from a nationwide viewpoint; but local characteristics must also be taken into account. For instance, diets and housing differ with each locality. Our party and state take care of the people's life, from minor to major items. Experiences over the past few years have shown that the people's life may be badly affected by the shortage of some minor but essential items. Therefore, the central level will concentrate on meeting the basic needs of the people's livelihood while localities, each according to its particular situation and customs and habits, should try to meet the diversified demands of the mass life.

The building of the central-level economy coupled with the development of the local economy is a sound formula aimed at gradually coordinating industry with agriculture, obtaining a balance between production and consumption and reassigning the social work force on the basis of increasing the productivity of agricultural manpower and insuring adequate on-the-spot rear service to enhance the all-people's national defense system. A developed local economy will create opportunities to bring into play the potential resources of the country and to rapidly develop the large-scale socialist production system in every stage and area of the national economy. If the local economy is developed, each province will be able to erect large municipalities and towns of its own which will become industrial and cultural centers serving to rapidly boost local production and improve the material and cultural life of the local people.

The central-level and local economics should be combined into a unified, inseparable economic structure and should not contradict each other. Each branch and locality should act as a link in the national economic chain as a whole. The various branches and localities have the duty to assist and supplement one another, to eliminate the trend toward bureaucratic centralization which hampers the development of the local economy and simultaneously to overcome manifestations of provincialism and regionalism. It is necessary to concentrate on building the central-level economy, including the key sectors that play a decisive role in promoting the growth of the entire national economy, and, at the same time to develop the local economy by turning each locality into a component of the national economy. The more strongly and soundly the local economy develops, the more opportunities it will create for the central level to concentrate on building key production projects, to insure harmony of the most important sectors and to help local economy develop.

Development of the local economy under the central level's uniform leadership is of strategic importance in shifting small-scale production to large-scale socialist production. Using provinces and municipalities as units, the local economy should grow into a rational structure. Meanwhile, it is necessary to build basic production units and to combine agriculture with industry, production with circulation and distribution and all-people's ownership with collective ownership.

#### Working Class Character

Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1300 GMT 29 Nov 76 BK

[Eleventh in series of NHAN DAN articles: "Seek To Understand the VWP Central Committee's Draft Political Report to the Fourth Party Congress" under the subtitle "Working Class Character of the Party"]

[Text] Our party--though founded and developed in a backward agricultural country which was originally a semifeudal colony with a small working class--has consistently maintained the revolutionary vanguard character of

a political party of the working class. As pointed out in the party Central Committee draft political report, our party has led our people in fulfilling great revolutionary undertakings first of all because it has firmly grasped and creatively applied Marxism-Leninism. Revolution and science are two fundamental features of Marxism-Leninism, which the party has adopted as guiding principles for its political, ideological and organizational activities. Since its founding 46 years ago, our party has always claimed to be the revolutionary political party of the Vietnamese working class and has constantly struggled to enhance its working class character.

To say that the party belongs to the working class first of all means that the party must always hold fast to the stand of the large-scale industrial working class, the class which symbolizes the most progressive production force and the ascending trend of the era. The confirmation of the working class stand to draw a clear-cut line between this stand and that of the bourgeoisie or reformed bourgeoisie is very important to our party, the majority of whose members, originally being revolution-enlightened peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie, usually start with a sense of nationalism before acquiring class awareness. Party members may come from different social groups and may work in different spheres of activities, but as far as the class stand is concerned, they must all be trained in line with the stand of the working class and must always hold fast to this stand to recognize and resolve the problems that arise in the revolutionary struggle.

In confirming the working class character of the party, we definitely do not mean to say that the party is only concerned with the interests of the working class. The party faithfully represents at the same time the interests of the working class and the legitimate interests of the working people and the nation. Therefore, it always correctly coordinates class interests with national interests in its lines, viewpoints and policies.

The Communist Party is the end result of the combination of scientific socialism and the workers' movement. This fact has given our party, from its founding, an intrinsic revolutionary and scientific nature which completely illustrates its working class character. This working class character is not abstract, but is vividly, plentifully and realistically reflected in the party's constant leadership and other activities. The qualities of the party's working class character constantly develop in keeping with the changes of the political tasks through the various stages and periods of the revolution. It is very important for party organizations and all cadres and party members to clearly understand this so they will constantly strive to fully grasp the party's character in all party activities and to meet the requirements of the new political tasks.

The party is the vanguard unit and the collective leader of the working class. Therefore, the first important issue is to remain absolutely loyal to Marxism-Leninism, the ideological system of the working class. By creatively applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, the party will correctly solve the problems facing the revolution in our country.

As pointed out in the draft political report, in the present revolutionary stage, the primary duty of the party is to draw a correct line for the socialist revolution in our country. The struggle for successful implementation of the resolutions to be adopted by the congress requires that our party become even firmer and stronger. Our party and all cadres and party members must not only have ever higher awareness, especially as concerns theoretical methods, economic laws and the law governing the class struggle conducted against a background in which the party holds leadership over the administration, but must also possess new qualities, spirit and capabilities in the field of actual organizational work, a field in which our party still displays many weaknesses.

After going through countless historic turning points and fierce trials, our party has creatively resolved many problems concerning revolutionary lines and methods. The great victory of the anti-U.S. national salvation struggle, the great achievements in socialist construction and the ever-rising prestige of our party in the international communist movement have irrefutably testified to the correctness of our party's lines. So far our party has always held high the two banners of nationalism and socialism. Thanks to this, it has successfully rallied and mobilized the combined strength of all our nation and coordinated the strength of our nation with that of the era to fulfill its obligations to the nation as well as its international obligations. The party's lines and policies reflect in the most concentrated and complete manner the stand of the working class. Therefore, the primary requirement for party organizations and cadres and party members is to firmly grasp and fully understand party lines and policies.

The Communist Party is also an organized combat staff and a working class organization of the highest order. Since it is a revolutionary fighting party, its working class character must also be reflected in revolutionary actions. Over the past 46 consecutive years our party has always attached importance to enhancing the quality of its actions and ideological activities with a view to improving the fighting strength of party organizations and the body of cadres and party members. The successful application of the correct political lines of our party has testified to its strong will and ever-improving organizational and operational ability. In a situation in which our party exercises leadership over the administration and leads in socialist construction, it pays attention to improving its organizational and managerial ability along with bettering the political awareness, theoretical understanding and revolutionary quality of cadres and party members. When the administration has been formed, the party becomes the leading nucleus of the proletarian dictatorship system and it lays an even heavier stress on and pays more attention to qualitatively improving its leadership and organizational work.

The party exerts efforts to set up an appropriate organizational structure to guarantee the working people's right to collective mastership. It strives at the same time to strengthen its leadership, develop the

managerial role of the state and strongly promote the working people's right to collective mastership. The state serves as a tool for implementing party lines and, at the same time, for exercising the working people's right to collective mastership. A great achievement of the party is its successful promotion and maintenance of the tradition of singleminded unity.

All the fundamental successes mentioned above make our party worthy of being a new-type party of the working class. Improvement of the party's working class character always constitutes the most important problem facing the task of ideologically and organizationally building the party.

### Guidelines for Party Building

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[Twelfth in series of NHAN DAN articles: "Seek To Understand the VWP Central Committee's Draft Political Report to the Fourth Party Congress" under the subtitle "Guidelines for Party Building"]

[Text] Displaying a thorough understanding of the universal Marxist-Leninist principles of party building and based on our party's diversified experience in party building, the party Central Committee's draft political report laid down five major guidelines for party building which should be a unified political, ideological and organizational process.

First guideline: The party must be made strong politically, ideologically and organizationally, in conformity with the Leninist principle for the new-type proletarian party. These three aspects are closely related and have a mutually decisive effect. Ideological work and organizational work are closely related, and both stem from the same political line and task. In return they insure the thorough grasping and full implementation of this line and task.

Party building means, first of all, applying Marxism-Leninism to the revolutionary reality in the country and laying down correct political programs, lines and tasks. Political lines and tasks constitute the primary important condition for the ideological and organizational building of the party. Correct political lines and tasks will concretely embody the stand and viewpoint of the working class on the problems posed by the revolutionary reality and draw a clear line between the proletarian ideology and the nonproletarian one, thus strengthening the former, promoting the struggle against all nonproletarian phenomena, and helping cement solidarity and achieve singlemindedness in the process of perceiving and solving the aforementioned problems. Ideological unity based on political lines and tasks will further strengthen and improve self-imposed discipline through organizational unity, in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. A timely reorientation of the party building formula will begin with the timely and correct reorientation of political lines.

The content of the ideological building of the party is determined by the political tasks. Correct political lines and tasks are the result of absolute faithfulness to the scientific and revolutionary nature of Marxism-Leninism, and of a successful struggle to overcome all tendencies of both rightist and leftist opportunism in the process of applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the real situation in our country. Correct political lines and tasks are also the result of a thorough understanding of the principle of democratic centralism in party affairs and organizational activities. They help uphold the principle of collective leadership, actively develop the initiative and creativity and the high sense of responsibility of each party member, induce party members to fulfill their duties and at the same time create conditions for everyone to exercise his right by participating in the party's collective leadership.

Correct political lines and tasks alone, however, will not always give rise to mass movements and lead to victory for the revolution. The organization of implementation of these lines and tasks also play a role and exert influence in this matter. For this reason, the ideological and organizational building of the party, in addition to taking initiative in insuring the correct formulation of political lines and tasks, should also see to it that these correct political lines and tasks are thoroughly understood and successfully implemented.

The revolution is constantly developing, so will the political lines and tasks, which should also be amended and perfected in practice. The changes in the political lines and tasks in each revolutionary period often antiquated methods used in the ideological and organizational building of the party. Although ideological and organizational work is governed by its own laws, such anachronism is also imputable to the actual way of thinking and practice of a certain number of cadres and party members who have failed to adapt to the new situation and tasks. This is the prevalent state of affairs at present, after the glorious, complete victory of the people's national democratic revolution.

Our party is facing the new tasks of the socialist revolution throughout the country. This calls for the ideological and organizational building of the party to be stepped up to enable the party to cope with the new political tasks. Our party is against the tendency of separating the ideological and organizational building of the party from its political building, and vice versa. The great success we have scored in party building consists of our efforts to combine and develop the mutually decisive effects of the three aspects of party building--political, ideological and organizational. This is also the process of combining the ideological building of the party with its organizational building.

Ideology here means, first of all, a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory, world conception and methodology, and the application of these general theories to solve the specific problems of the Vietnamese revolution. Only a correct ideology can lead to correct action, and a vanguard ideology



to revolutionary movements. However, in order to translate an ideology into reality we need an organization and organized practical work. Therefore, all tendencies of separating ideology from organization, and vice versa, are erroneous. To develop the vanguard role of the party and the contingent of party members in the new revolution, we must closely combine the ideological building of the party with its organizational building, thus insuring the constant improvement of the qualities and ability of cadres and party members while enabling them to participate in the organized and disciplined activities and work of the party and of the system of proletarian dictatorship as a whole. Only by so doing can we keep our party, the majority of whose membership is from the petty bourgeois class, forever worthy of being the party of the working class and forever in the van of the struggle for the complete victory of socialism.

Second guideline: Since the party can become stable and strong only amid the revolutionary mass movement, the task of building the party and increasing its fighting strength can be conducted only amid a mass struggle movement aimed at implementing the political tasks set forth by the party and through exhorting the masses to participate in building the party and controlling party activities and the work and qualities of cadres and party members.

Under the regime of proletarian dictatorship, in light of the people's political and spiritual unity, taking into consideration the traditional solidarity between our people and the party, and in view of the need to respect and develop our people's collective mastery under the party's leadership, our party advocates the mobilization of the masses to participate in party building in various forms and to various extents. As the leader of the masses and the ruling party that is fully aware of its responsibility for leading the society as a whole, our party has placed itself under the control and supervision of the masses. By so doing, our party has showed its respect for and striven to develop the masses' collective mastery, even in the field of party building, while preventing and overcoming bureaucracy among cadres and party members and guarding them from being alienated from the masses.

Third guideline: Once the party is in control of the state machinery, its strength becomes part of the aggregate strength of the system of proletarian dictatorship. The building of the party and the strengthening of its fighting strength, therefore, must be linked with the perfection of the structure and the strengthening of the ability of the state machinery, and also with the building and consolidation of mass organizations.

This guideline is aimed at settling the problem of the relationship between the party and other organizations in the system of proletarian dictatorship. The state is the institution which translates the line and position of the party into plans, policies, procedures and legislation. It also promotes the people's collective mastery over the entire society in an organized and planned manner. Working in or outside the state

machinery, all party members are placed under the management of the state in all fields of society. As citizens, all party members are affected in many ways by the management of the state, positively if the management is good, and negatively if the management is bad.

The work of the mass organizations in participating in and controlling state affairs and in building the collective mastery of the laboring people of various strata also affect party members in their capacity as members of these organizations. As a ruling party, our party must be strong in all levels of the system of proletarian dictatorship. The improvement of the party's ability and the strengthening of its fighting strength, therefore, must be closely linked with the improvement of the state's managerial skills and with the building and consolidation of mass organizations.

Along with the correct combination of the interests of the state with those of the collective and individuals in the party's line and policies, the development of the aggregate strength of the system of proletarian dictatorship will help further consolidate and broaden the relations between the party and the masses. We will run counter to the guidelines for party building if we consider party building as a task that is completely separate from the building of the entire system of proletarian dictatorship, or if we limit ourselves to our specialized, technical and professional work in state and mass organization affairs, failing to take advantage of this work to contribute to building the party politically, ideologically and organizationally.

Fourth guideline: The improvement of the quality of party members must be combined with the improvement of the quality of party cadres and with the strengthening of leadership at all levels and in all branches. An organization must be strong for each member to be strong, and vice versa.

This guideline is aimed at settling the problem of the relationship between the individual and the organization. Proceeding from the Leninist viewpoint that party members should be considered as an integral part of the organization, not as individuals, our party has attached equal importance to the building of both the organization and its individual members. An organization is an assembly of cadres and members, but once these cadres and members have voluntarily joined with one another to establish an organization in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism, it is the organization that has the right to make decisions on all activities of its cadres and members. Through its activities, the organization develops the strong points of each cadre and member, limits and overcomes their weaknesses, thus creating a new qualitative strength--the collective strength of an organization.

We should not only develop the role of the organization vis-a-vis cadres and party members but should also develop the role of the cadres and party members vis-a-vis the organization, because they are the conscious entities

which formed the organization and because it is through the active and positive activities of each cadre and party member with his particular qualities and ability that the organization demonstrates its effects. If the organization is strong, it will make each of its members strong, and vice versa. For this reason, along with improving the quality of the organization, we must improve the quality of party members in accordance with the different laws which govern the development of the building of people and the building of organizations.

Fifth guideline: While broadening the party, it is necessary to attach importance to quality and to avoid the tendency to look for quantity only. Party broadening must constantly be coordinated with party consolidation. While recruiting outstanding, qualified persons, it is necessary to expel degenerate, unqualified elements from the party and also to vigilantly prevent party infiltration by evil opportunist elements who work only for personal interests. This guideline is aimed at settling the problem of relationship between quantity and quality in the task of strengthening and developing the party, the organized vanguard team and the highest organization of the working class.

Since its founding our party has always attached importance to quality and avoided looking for quantity only in developing the party. Today, this problem has a fresh significance in light of the need for the party to improve its leadership and fighting strength to cope with its new tasks; to heighten vigilance to prevent evil opportunistic elements from worming their way into and making use of the ruling party to further their own interests; and to overcome some remaining negative aspects in the recruitment of party members.

To attach importance to quality in broadening the party does not mean to neglect the quantity factor. Once the quality of party members is insured, quantity will become an important factor because it constitutes the strength of the contingent of party members and creates conditions for the building of party bases and for extensive deployment of party members to strengthen party leadership in all fields.

Our party advocates the coordination of party consolidation with party broadening by recruiting outstanding, qualified persons while promptly expelling degenerate, unqualified elements--a process which our party considers as a normal law of development calling for both assimilation and elimination, a law common to all living organisms.

The five guidelines for party building have clearly brought out the need for further enhancing the working-class nature of the party in the new situation in order to make our party forever worthy of being both the leader and the loyal servant of the people in accordance with Uncle Ho's instruction.

## Relationship of Party, State, Masses

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 25 Nov 76 p 3

[Thirteenth in series of NHAN DAN articles: "Seek To Understand the VWP Central Committee's Draft Political Report to the Fourth Party Congress" under the subtitle "Relationship of the Party--the State--the Masses"]

[Text] Our system of socialist collective ownership means control by the workers, of which the hard core is the alliance of workers and peasants, through the socialist nation under the leadership of the party. The draft political report clearly states, "Therefore, the creation of the system of collective ownership demands first of all the building at all branches, at all levels from central to primary, of one system for the proper relationship between the party, the state, and the masses."

To unite the three parts of the system of the proletarian dictatorship into one structure that operates harmoniously and effectively, aimed at building, securing and developing the right of true collective ownership by the workers is not simple. This is our primary mission on the operational, organizational front and there are many problems that must be resolved in a scientific manner.

The historical mission of the working class and the characteristic features of the period of transition to communism is determined by an essentially objective calculation of the leadership role of the party. Our party was and is the leadership nucleus of the proletarian dictatorship, the people who provide political guidance to the whole society. That leadership role of the party is aimed at insuring the achievement of the policy of the working class, the only scientific policy, in accordance with the laws of historical development, because that is the union of the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary reality of our country. To eliminate the outmoded production procedures and build socialist production procedures is the way to vital development in this era. Being the sole class representing the new production process, the new socialist economic system, the working class is the revolutionary leadership class. The leadership of the party is total: political, economic, cultural, ideological and organizational. Regarding organizational leadership, after revealing the policy and the mission, the party organizes all socialist forces and by means of the state, and with the state's approval, carries out the line and the policy that has been outlined; it decides the questions of organization and cadre of the proletarian dictatorship, coordinating the activities of the parts in the proletarian dictatorship system and forming an apparatus to perfect and control the activities of that apparatus; it mobilizes the revolutionary movement of the masses; at the same time the party organizes itself in order to ceaselessly increase its leadership ability and fighting strength. In order for the party to fulfill its leadership role in the new phase of the revolution, the draft political report has summarized five great precepts to guide the work of

building the party and has outlined the measures to make the party strong from top to bottom, on all three fronts: political, ideological and organizational, aimed at making sure our party continues to be a strong Marxist-Leninist party, at having always correct and creative policies and having the organizational ability to successfully carry out the policies.

The party's policies must be approved by the state before they can be implemented. It is only with the state's approval that the party leads the entire society. The socialist state--a great achievement of the revolution--is an objective necessity, existing as an organization of the workers established to build and insure the right of collective ownership. The workers manage themselves by means of their state. Differing completely from the states of the exploiting classes, the socialist state, based directly on the economic-social structure, is an organization for the advancement of the three revolutions: to build a new system, a new economy and a new culture and a new people; to maintain political security and social order; to protect the socialist fatherland. The activities of the socialist state reveal the centralization of the party's leadership and the workers' right to collective ownership.

The state must ceaselessly be strengthened and aimed at achieving the historical missions and advancing at the same time the three revolutions, successfully building socialism and preparing conditions for the progression to building communism. The draft political report emphasizes the important tasks: Effective strengthening of the state with regard to economic organization and management, immediately aimed at the improvement of the planning system and improvement of the organization of the economic apparatus; elevating the position of the National Assembly and the people's councils at all echelons; strengthening socialist law; and consolidating national defense. The draft also points out: a prerequisite for the strengthening of the state's power and effectiveness is the successful guarantee of the party's leadership relative to the state.

Along with the state as the supreme form of collective ownership, the workers also implement their right to mastery by means of mass organizations. The existence of these organizations is also a historical necessity. Mass organizations are pillars of the proletarian dictatorship and have the task of educating and mobilizing their constituents and their groups to achieve the political tasks outlined by the party, of participating in and controlling the work of the state, of contributing to building the party and of being the schools for building collective ownership people. Together with the advance of the revolution, the role of mass organizations becomes more and more important. The draft political report indicates the operational tasks and directions in the new phase for the trade unions, collectivized peasants, intellectuals, and of the organizations of youths, women, ethnic minorities, religions and the National United Front.

From the aforementioned concept regarding the position and function of each part in the proletarian dictatorship, we must build an active and harmonious structure of the entire system. The operation of that structure reflects the rational relationship between the parts of the proletarian dictatorship aimed at developing and elevating the active role and creative spirit of the people, to make every activity of the people an organized activity, closely uniting the revolutionary quality with the scientific quality to create a great synthesized force to build a socialist collective ownership system.

Our party's guidelines reveal that the building of the party-state-masses relationship is scientific. Through practice, we clearly see the total leadership role of the party, with regard to politics, ideology, and organization, over all spheres of social life, relative to every organization in the proletarian dictatorship. The party leads, but certainly does not replace the state and leads the whole society with the approval of the state.

The party leads and is closely connected to the state management. The strengthening of the party's leadership role is tied to the effective development of management organizations of the state. The party's fighting strength and administrative leadership is demonstrated first of all in the effectiveness and strength of the state's apparatus under the party's leadership. The resolution of the 23d plenum of the party Central Committee pointed out: "In specific tasks at all branches and at all echelons, we must overcome confusion in the functions of the party and the functions of the state; when the party organization undertakes the work of the state agencies it reduces the power and effectiveness of the state apparatus and, in reality, lessens the leadership role of the party. At the same time we must oppose the tendency to regard lightly the party organization's leadership responsibility toward state agencies, oppose the concept of a mechanical division of labor, and of isolating the activities of the party organizations from the activities of the state agencies."

The party and the state must both be closely connected to the masses. In a condition of party leadership of the government authority, the party's tasks regarding the masses have many new aspects. The party is related to the masses, not only through mass organizations, but also through the state apparatus. The task of mobilizing the masses is the common mission of the whole proletarian dictatorship system. The party, through the state, maintains direct and daily contact and disseminates information to all strata of the masses, has a structure and material conditions adequate to care for the lives of the masses and has many methods and forms of propagandization and education to raise the political and ideological level of the masses. But we also need to avoid the tendency to regard lightly the mission of mobilizing the masses, and not paying sufficient attention to the role and activities of the mass organizations. Bureaucratization and commandism are dangers related to the parties that lead the government administration. That danger can only be overcome by building and strengthening the collective ownership regime of the workers.

## World Revolutionary Movement

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[Fourteenth in series of NHAN DAN articles: "Seek To Understand the VWP Central Committee's Draft Political Report to the Fourth Party Congress" under the subtitle "New Opportunity of the Vietnamese Nation in the Rising World Revolutionary Movement"]

[Text] The party of the Vietnamese communists has always been an internationalist party. Its coming into being was a direct result of the combination of Marxism-Leninism with the patriotic movement and the workers' movement in Vietnam, and was closely linked with the October Revolution--the first success of applied Marxism-Leninism. As part of the world proletarian revolution, the Vietnamese revolution, under party leadership, has right from the beginning been closely associated with the international communist movement, the workers' movement and the national liberation movement in the world. History in the past 46 years clearly shows that each important development of the Vietnamese revolution was closely related to major developments of the world revolution.

The successes of the August Revolution and the resistance against French colonialism and especially the victory of the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation have proved that the correct international viewpoints and lines of our party constitute an important factor in the success of the Vietnamese revolution. Today the history of our beloved fatherland has entered a new chapter. The party Central Committee's draft political report to the Fourth Party Congress points out the three major features which determine the developmental process of the Vietnamese revolution. One is that our country is carrying out socialist revolution in an internationally favorable situation in which the three revolutionary currents in the world have continued to grow large and strong and are on the offensive, and imperialism is caught deep in a crisis and is becoming weaker and weaker with each passing day. A new scientific and technical revolution is taking place in the world. Thanks to its victorious struggle against the United States, our country has established its great prestige in the international arena.

Since the October Revolution, the world revolution has taken three big steps in development. As pointed out in the draft political report, the success of the October Socialist Revolution was the first leap forward which opened up a new era--an era in which mankind is advancing toward socialism. This success has created a new situation in the struggle between the conflicting forces in the new era--an era in which the working class has replaced the bourgeoisie to assume the central position and an era for the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. These conflicting forces are on one side, the old capitalist world that has suffered a severe blow in a vital area covering one-sixth of the surface of the earth; and on the other side, the new socialist world that was born

from the October Revolution, the workers' movement in the capitalist countries and the national liberation movement--the three big revolutionary forces which stand united in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

However, the advance of history does not follow a straight course. The October Revolution has the extremely profound significance of being a giant leap forward which opened up a new era for the whole of mankind. This was only the first success. The socialist forces, then like a young shoot, were frenziedly counterattacked, besieged and blockaded by the capitalist countries. The victory scored by the Soviet Union and other revolutionary and progressive forces in the world in destroying the fascist German, Italian and Japanese forces and smashing the biggest counterattack mounted by the capitalist world against the homeland of the October Revolution ushered in a new stage of great development for the world revolution. This historic victory created favorable conditions for the revolution to take place in a score of countries. The victory of the Chinese people in 1949, which led to the founding of the PRC, tilted the balance of forces definitely toward the revolutionary side.

Socialism has since expanded outside the boundary of one country and the world revolution has shifted to a strategically offensive position. In the international arena, new factors have emerged: Firstly, socialism has broken the siege of capitalism and become a worldwide system; secondly, the movement to struggle for national independence has drawn the participation of billions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America; and thirdly, the workers' movement in the capitalist countries has mounted a direct offensive on the strongholds of world capitalism. They are the three revolutionary currents consisting of real forces which are struggling in three different areas of the world for the achievement of direct goals not totally similar to one another, and are in different stages of development.

The draft political report says: With its great successes in all fields, today's world socialist system has acquired a combined strength definitely superior to that of imperialism, and it has been further demonstrated that the world socialist system continues to give full play to its role as the decisive factor for the development of human society. It is the solid bastion and the steady support of the world revolution.

In the formation of the world socialist system, the great and broad movement for independence is the second great event of our era. It is a direct spearhead at imperialism that directly determines the disintegration of the colonial system of both old and new colonialism. It is taking place under several forms and proves to be very active and creative. Although it has not entered the course of socialist development, today's national independence current is characterized by its tendency to closely link with socialism, and therefore it plays an extremely important role in the advance toward socialism throughout the world.



The workers' movement in the capitalist countries is a class struggle directly against capitalism and for the sake of socialism. This current is a direct and decisive factor in causing the collapse of the world capitalist system. So, each current has its own historic position in the common struggle of the era and directly determines the direction for development for each country and each region. At the same time, it contributes to directly setting the direction of general development for today's world.

The draft political report says: The strength of our era is the combined strength of the three revolutionary currents, the forces that are determining the main content and the main directions for the development of human society, and the forces promoting the transition from capitalism to socialism.

This combined strength has given rise to a worldwide revolutionary movement which is applying the offensive strategy to repel imperialism step by step and to overthrow it piece by piece so as to reach the objectives of the era which are peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. Of these objectives, closely linked together and inseparable from one another, socialism has become an immediate struggle objective for the peoples of all countries because the path toward socialism can guarantee genuine independence and democracy for all nations.

The victory of the Vietnamese revolution was the victory in correctly using the combined strength of the three revolutionary currents, and was first of all the victory of the two basic forces of national independence and socialism. It was also the victory of the correct and thorough use of the steel-like offensive strategy and of the correct assessment by our party of the newly confirmed forces on the world stage ever since World War II.

The war of aggression waged by the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam was the greatest counterattack that imperialism and all other international reactionary forces could stage and did stage in the wake of World War II in order to wrest back their lost positions of strategic strength. The anti-U.S. national salvation struggle of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao peoples was the greatest, fiercest and the most persevering general struggle of the world revolutionary forces of which the Vietnamese people were the assault column in this part of the world.

This great victory was achieved thanks to the great sacrifices of the Vietnamese nation and the wholehearted support and great assistance of the socialist countries and brothers and friends on all five continents. The defeat in Vietnam marked a turning point leading to the decline of the U.S. imperialists and making them retreat deeper into a passive defense position.

Fifty-nine years after the October Revolution and 30 years after World War II, a new and unique power has appeared in the world arena to tip the balance of forces in favor of the revolution. Continuing to correctly use the offensive strategy, the world peoples can stage an even more penetrating and greater revolutionary movement to repel step by step U.S.-headed imperialism, to topple it piece by piece and to frustrate its post-Vietnam War global strategy so as to maintain peace and create new steps for development.

Time will support us. The momentous development of the technical revolution is also beneficial to our socialist construction. Mankind is on the brink of a glorious future. The Vietnamese nation within the ranks of the vanguard nations of the era, by following an international line and a correct foreign policy which will be expounded at the Fourth Congress of our party, is ushering in an extremely glorious period for development.

### Conclusion

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[Fifteenth in series of NHAN DAN articles: "Seek To Understand the VWP Central Committee's Draft Political Report to the Fourth Party Congress" under the subtitle "On the Great Wings of Independence, Freedom and Socialism"]

[Text] The main factor of our people's victorious anti-U.S. national salvation war of resistance was the correct, clear-sighted, sovereign and independent political and military line of our party. Basically, the line has always firmly held the two banners of national independence and socialism and has coordinated national independence and socialism into one. The Vietnamese revolution is entering a new stage. The entire unified and independent country is carrying out the sole strategic task, which is to develop the socialist revolution and to build socialism. This unanimity will certainly create a new plan for our entire country to unite behind the glorious party and to successfully build a prosperous and strong Vietnam where our people will live happily. In the same manner as a class, our nation is a historical category and an objective existence in the determined periods of the course of progress of mankind. Once becoming a class, the working class immediately raised the national problem and made clear its scientific stand in regard to this problem.

The Communist Party's manifesto marked the important hour when the working class ascended the historical arena. The scientific socialist founders wrote: "Naturally, the proletariat in each country must first of all abolish the bourgeoisie within their countries." Marx and Engels also wrote: "The proletariat in each country must, first of all, seize the power and build itself into the leadership position of the whole country; and once this country is no longer based on the bourgeoisie, it will set the national character." Therefore, from the very beginning, scientific

socialism has reiterated that communism and the people are closely linked together and has determined the historical responsibility of the working class in each country to its own people. It also has determined that the working class must shape itself in the national framework, and that the people in the van of the revolutionary struggle of the working class against bourgeoisie must point their main thrust in realizing the historical mission for mankind--to reform the world and carry out communism on the earth. Right at the time when the bourgeoisie abandoned its vanguard role in history, betrayed its people and became imperialistic in suppressing and oppressing other peoples, the world's concept of the actions of communist people, of the class problem and of socialism and of socialism and national independence have been closely coordinated.

Lenin, the successor and promoter of Marxism in the imperialist and proletarian revolutionary periods, spoke of the worthy pride of the Russian people who developed into the revolutionary class and who proved to have the ability to provide mankind with great examples of struggle for freedom and socialism. The October Revolution opened a new era, the era of the great proletarian and the proletarian dictatorship revolution and also the era when all the oppressed people rise up to achieve independence and freedom. Lenin also wrote the slogan: Let the proletarian in all oppressed nations unite! The historical events permitted him to foresee the force of the main trend of the national liberation movement and the very important role of the movement in the historical progress. In the decisive wars--which will certainly take place--of world revolution, the struggle movement of the great majority of the inhabitants on the earth, which at the beginning obviously turned toward national liberation, will turn back to oppose capitalism and imperialism and will play a revolutionary role, probably more important than we expected.

Thirty-two years after the October Revolution, at the 19th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1949, Stalin presented a view of the general character: "The communist people must hold the national and democratic banner to advance!" From another aspect of the struggle movement to liberate mankind, the most outstanding children of the oppressed nations, the vanguard intelligentsia of the national liberation movement also found in the light of the October Revolution the organic relations between national independence and socialism.

President Ho Chi Minh, the greatest patriot of the Vietnamese people and also the first Vietnamese communist who sought a way to save his country also said: "To save and liberate the people, there is no other path than that of the proletarian revolution."

The strength of our people's spirit of independence and freedom, forged by 4,000 years of continuous struggle to defend and build the fatherland, has made the intellect of the people, through their outstanding son--Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc--develop a big leap forward from the long night of feudalism, bypassing a production formula called capitalism, to the most civilized

light of mankind, namely, scientific socialism. In other words, the outstanding van of the Vietnamese nation--through Comrade Nguyen Ai Quoc's awareness of Marxism-Leninism--found the source of a combined strength and the goal of the epoch, using the scientific world concept of the working class as its own world concept and applying the Marxist-Leninist method as its own method, ideology and action in its struggle for self-liberation.

Forty-six years have elapsed since our party's birth. Holding high the two banners of national independence and socialism, it has led the Vietnamese people to win one victory after another and now to achieve the total and complete victory in their cause of people's democratic national revolution, thereby advancing the entire independent and unified country toward socialism. This brilliant victory of the Vietnamese people as well as the victory of the peoples of Laos, Cambodia, Cuba and Angola, and so forth, and the eloquent reality of the three revolutionary currents which are surging in the world, has permitted the draft political report of the VWP Central Committee to come to the conclusion that each national independent and democratic movement is closely linked to socialism and is directing its advance toward socialism. The path of advancement toward socialism is the path for insuring real independence and democracy for all the people. The Western bourgeoisie has made a serious mistake by trying to prove that for the Vietnamese people, socialism is but a scheme to achieve independence. In having a preconception toward class or intentionally lowering the Marxist-Leninist role, they did not see and, therefore, sought every means possible to distort the greatest truth of the present epoch.

No, the victory of the Vietnamese people has not only further clarified scientific socialism but has also further proved the epochal character, the boundless vitality and the almighty strength of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. It was also the arm of the working class and later became an invincible arm for all the peoples to liberate themselves in their search for happiness. The working class which is standing in the central position of the era is a symbol for progressive mankind and the representative of the legitimate interests of all the peoples and of the future of mankind.

Under the leadership of our party, the Vietnamese revolution has entered a new stage. The draft political report said: From now on, our unified fatherland, our people and socialism are one. Only with socialism, will the laboring people of our country escape from cold and hunger forever, and live a civilized and happy life. Only with socialism will the right to be masters be fully accomplished by our people. And only with socialism will our country be independent and free forever, and will our fatherland prosper and be united forever.

The legend of the hero Phu Dong did not accidentally come to the mind of the Vietnamese people. Through many decades of safeguarding independence and freedom, our people have wanted to grow up quickly like the legendary hero

Phu Dong. Since the emergence of the party, our people have really advanced with the legendary hero Phu Dong's strength and the Vietnamese revolution, for the past 50 years, compared with that of thousands of years ago, has advanced at the rate of achieving in 1 day what took decades in the past.

With an absolutely revolutionary spirit of the working class, with the legendary hero Phu Dong's spirit and under the correct and talented leadership of our party, a strong, revolutionary and scientific Marxist-Leninist party, our people will make a new big leap forward to lead Vietnam from small production to large-scale socialist production. By coordinating patriotism with socialism and patriotism with proletarian internationalism, our people will certainly have enough strength, capability and self-consciousness and a great deal of creativeness to carry out the last wish of the venerated and beloved President Ho Chi Minh at all costs: All of our people will unite to strive to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, strong and prosperous Vietnam and to make a worthy contribution to the revolutionary undertaking in the world.

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